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VI. CHARACTER AND SOCIAL LIFE

181 114 AT FIRST SIGHT the Tukuna appear to be a very peaceful, industrious, and good-tempered folk. Some writers, however, accuse them of laziness, the foremost of these being Ribeiro de Sampaio, who opens his description of the tribe in 1774 with the sentence: "São os Tecunas de hum natural preguiçozissimo" ("The Tukuna are of a most indolent temperament").[1] Martius speaks of their "indolence and innate intemperance."[2] Bates calls them "much more idle and debauched than the other Indians belonging to superior tribes,"[3] and on the following page he observes: "I found them a harmless, good-natured people." Orton repeats this judgment almost to the letter: "good-natured and ingenious . . . but they are idle and debauched."[4]

Herndon calls his Tukuna paddlers "even more lazy and careless than the Sarayaquinos,"[5] but he later reflects: "Poor fellows! They have been abused and maltreated so long that they are now insensible even to kindness." And again, "The Ticunas that I had with me, however, were far the laziest and most worthless people that I had hitherto had anything to do with."[6] But again this author remarks: "I believe that this [i.e., worthlessness] is not a characteristic of the tribe, for they seemed well enough under Father Flores at Caballococha, and they have generally a rather good reputation among the whites on the river. I imagine that the proximity of the garrison at Tabatinga has not a good effect upon their manners and morals."

Barbosa Rodrigues finally declares firmly: "In general they are hard workers and of a peaceful temperament. It is only the civilized white who drives them to it [retaliation] by persecution, rape, robbery or by maltreatment, since these qualities cannot be denied them in their wild state."

181 648 The fact is, that even today one encounters the most contradictory opinions of the Tukuna character, each opinion depending largely on the observer's own attitude toward the people. Until about thirty years ago, when rubber was fetching fabulous sums, the Tukuna were brutally tyrannized by their civilized masters, who usurped all of their lands and treated the Indians practically as slaves. Even today there are in the region a few die-hards of this class of domineering squirearchs who arrogate to themselves the trusteeship of the Indians, as though it were their primordial right—indeed, almost duty—as self-appointed civilized persons. Now, however, their power is fast declining, and the Tukuna who recognize this are labeled "rebels," "insubordinate," and "loafers," because they refuse to work any longer under the old conditions; "thieves," because they feel that, even though they steal as much as possible from the Neobrazilians, they cannot possibly steal as much as the Neobrazilians have stolen from them; and "treacherous," because they will not suffer outrages and violences without retaliation.

123 181 I lived absolutely alone among the Tukuna for many months, and from the beginning I always felt completely at ease among them. Even before I became intu-

[1] Ribeiro de Sampaio, Diario da viagem ... 1774 e 1775, § 212.
[2] Martius, 1:443.
[3] Bates, 2:401.
[4] Orton, p. 320.
[5] Herndon and Gibbon, 1:247.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 252.

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mate with them I was always treated courteously. For my canoe they offered more paddlers than I needed. I used to leave my trunks open when I temporarily left the house where I was a guest, the baggage containing articles coveted by the Indians. They would rummage through my gear to the very bottom and knew better than I what each piece contained, but during all this long period of living among them, they robbed me of—two cigarettes! This was the experience likewise of the botanist Ricardo Fróes, who, as has been said, also lived among them in various localities for several months in 1941.

There are, therefore, certain persons toward whom the Tukuna feel a moral obligation, but for this they must be convinced that the person with whom they are dealing is incapable of lying to them or exploiting them, a conviction which presupposes, on the part of the strangers, a frank and friendly attitude toward the native culture.

However, with their own tribesmen they do not always consider similar conduct absolutely obligatory, so that one finds examples of notorious hostility, ill will, and even dishonesty. The Tukuna were exemplary in their honesty with Ricardo Fróes and myself, but I was present once at a feast when an Indian ripped open with his knife another man's sack of clothes, deliberately stealing them; and there are other confirmed thefts from houses during the Indian owners' absence.

Actually, under normal conditions the Tukuna are calm and pacific, but some of them become insolent and dangerous when drunk. Frequently, at their drinking bouts at least one major quarrel occurs, and often there are injuries and fatalities. At first I took these scenes only for the end products of old hatreds and resentments, thinking that all these offenses and crimes had some serious motive, more or less unknown, which the Indians concealed. But I was finally convinced that this was not so. The Indians describe these affairs without constraint and in detail, but when one inquires the reason for the disorder, "They fight because they want to" is the only explanation that one obtains, or "So-and-so always fights when he is drunk"; the event is thus sufficiently explained.

Strangely enough, a quarrel of this sort never broke out in my presence, though I attended a good number of their drinking bouts. On one occasion an Indian armed himself with a machete to attack another, but my fixing my eyes upon him with the natural interest that the situation deserved was enough to make him pass the weapon to the other and draw off. Accordingly, I believe that if at these affairs a person were present who exercised some moral authority, all such quarrels could be nipped in the bud. The trouble is, that among all these Tukuna there is apparently no one whose authority they will recognize. Their individualism, concretely expressed in their habit of living in isolated houses, and in the absence of any bond except the blood tie, will not tolerate the intervention of a chief in their outbursts of anger or in their personal problems.

I know of no other tribe in which one may observe such sudden transports of fury and examples of lack of self-control as occur now and then among the Tukuna. From childhood they differ from other Indians in this respect. They quarrel like civilized children, and in their houses I have heard almost as much bellowing from enraged youngsters as in Neobrazilian homes. I have observed little brothers, in childish pranks, chasing each other with a machete or a firebrand. One day a little

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girl nine years old and her brother of seven were at the door of their house. The girl, amusing herself by killing minnows on the bank with a machete, cut herself lightly on the leg and started to wail. The boy, seeing the alarmed father approaching on the run, thought it best not to trust to the paternal judgment and, finding his escape blocked, threw himself into the water and fled by swimming, although he was entirely innocent. The father, seeing his blood-stained daughter and the fleeing boy, concluded without further reflection that the latter had wounded his sister. The boy was already out of reach, so the father seized a paddle weighing at least three kilograms and without hesitation hurled it after the fugitive. The missile struck the child's head, by the merest chance not killing him but opening up a wide gash in his scalp. The father, still infuriated, ignored the possible consequences, left the injured boy in the igapó, and returned to the house with the girl. Only at dusk the mother heard the boy's sobs in the jungle and went out to fetch him home.

An Indian of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo, Cazemiro nuu"kj, flew into a temper at his wife one day, unjustly suspecting that she had been unfaithful. Terrified at her husband's rage, the woman fled into the jungle and could not bring herself to return, no matter how often and persistently he called her. Then Cazemiro in his fury set fire to the house and with his machete leveled all the fruit trees that he himself had planted about it. A little later he made his [illegible]ith the woman, but because their place had been destroyed, he and the [illegible] were obliged to move in with her parents until he had shamefacedly rebuilt it. I know of still another instance of an Indian's destroying all his personal belongings with his own hands.

More tragic than these imbecilities are the suicides committed in rage. In 1941 a woman, some thirty years old, who lived with her parents at Barreiras de Belém went to the riverbank in a mood of drunken melancholy. There she drank a little rum and bought another bottle, which she took to her mother. The latter replied that the daughter could keep the rum; she wanted none of it. With no further word the daughter proceeded to the neighboring garden clearing (*roça*), dissolved fish drug (timbó) in a gourd of water, and drank it. Someone heard her faint cry, but since no one suspected what she was doing, no importance was attached to it, and it was not until later that the body of the suicide was found.

A week afterward, this same woman's nephew, called Beni, about twenty years old, also committed suicide in the same spot by drinking timbó. Before daybreak he had gone out to fish, returning about nine o'clock with a surubím, which he handed to his wife, a very young girl whom he had married just a short time before. Seeing that the little wife was not overeager to prepare the fish, he grew angry and finally struck her. His stepfather intervened, saying: "Well, and was it to have a woman to beat that you married?" This was enough to send Beni silently out of the house and into hiding, where he took the drug.

About the same time, another suicide occurred in Igarapé de Belém. A boy of sixteen returned with his relatives from a labor festival. He was not drunk, but when the canoe touched the bank, they noticed that he leaped ashore angry, for no perceptible reason. He ran up the slope above, entered the house, where he immediately mounted the platform (giráu), and flung himself under the mosquito

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net. His mother and aunt, taking their burden baskets, went to fetch manioc roots, which they had put to soak; the uncle was bathing near by. Aside from the youth, there remained in the house only a little boy some seven years old. Suddenly the youth fell from the platform, which was about 2½ m. above the ground, and for some time remained immobile on the floor. Then he said: "Why didst thou quarrel with me? Now I shall leave!" He arose and took to the jungle. The little boy followed him in bewilderment; but the youth, noticing him, left the trail and hid himself. A little later he returned to the house, staggering, fell upon a box, and there died of the poison he had taken.

There is one very serious motive for feuds and murder among the Tukuna: the suspicion that certain persons are using their magical powers to the detriment of others. Without exaggeration, this suspicion affects 10 per cent of the total population, with varying intensity; it is confirmed and accepted by some, denied by others. In the section on "Magic and Religion" I shall discuss this subject in more detail.

Drunkenness.—Drunkenness is the Tukuna's national vice and their only one. At their feasts, men, women, and children drink, and perhaps half the men and a tenth of the women and children become intoxicated. Many continue to dance even when drunk, beating a drum and singing without annoying anyone; but some become troublesome and offensive. Others, exclusively men, drink until they collapse into a hammock or in some corner, or even in the yard, where they vomit and sleep it off; still others grow quarrelsome, provoking more or less serious brawls that result in injuries or even deaths.

The small extent to which alcohol arouses the sexual instinct in Indians is notable; the youths drink, dance, and beat drums with their companions throughout the nights and days, apparently having no eyes for the girls, who in groups of two to five are doing the same thing. I have never seen Tukuna youths, whether drunk or sober, fighting over girls.

However, at these parties, in some corner of the house or yard there is invariably a group of men, already more or less senile, who humor themselves with obscene jokes, accompanied by hoots of laughter and illustrative gestures, though they never annoy the opposite sex with their nastiness.

Industry.—One cannot tax the Tukuna with being "most indolent," as did Ribeiro de Sampaio; and the yarn about the Indian who lives with his family for a whole week on a bunch of bananas, passing the entire time sleeping or swinging in his hammock, appears quite different to a firsthand observer.

Except for those who are on the road to ruin because of their dependence upon civilized establishments, above all on rum stills, the Tukuna maintain a stable economy in their own lives. Many of them through their own efforts succeed in obtaining such material improvements as good firearms, iron tools, and sufficient clothing—even sewing machines.

Unmarried youths work least—when they do not hire themselves out to the Neobrazilians—but girls and married couples are hardly ever idle except after sundown. Usually, whenever I sought out a Tukuna, it happened that nobody was at home, or at most, only the children were. It was necessary to wait until afternoon when the owners returned to the house from their work. The reason that

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there are no Tukuna who sit around all week eating just bananas is because they like, above all, to eat fish, which obliges them to go fishing almost every day; sometimes the catch is small. Again, once in awhile, they wish to eat game, which they can obtain only by extensive trips through the country.

The husband must clear the undergrowth and burn it for his plantation. The house needs repairs, and his weapons and fishing tackle require constant attention. He cuts and sews the clothes for his family, with remarkable ability, makes a canoe for his own use or to sell at a good price, and helps his wife weed the garden, make farinha, and fetch kindling or fruits from the jungle. The wife, who must take care of the children and kitchen, clean the house and clothing, spin tucum thread, make hammocks or baskets or pottery, obviously has no time for swinging in a hammock either. Furthermore, many take enormous pleasure in their plantations, spending the better part of the day there.

That the Tukuna are neither intellectually lazy nor obtuse in understanding is proved by the many alien culture elements which they have adopted and assimilated with real advantage to themselves: first, the ubá of the Omágua, then the casco of the Neobrazilians, in place of the small, primitive canoe of paxiuba barriguda; the mosquito net and subsequent modification of the house; the manufacture of manioc flour, which gives them an appreciable income; clothing, which is a necessity in a land infested by mosquitoes; firearms, sewing machines, and many other items of lesser importance.

All in all, most members of the tribe at least are free from that snobbishness which impels some Indians thoughtlessly to ape the Neobrazilians and to deprecate their own traditions. The Tukuna have preserved the purity of their own language, having adopted not more than two dozen words from the Portuguese, and there is no evidence of bastardization or decadence in the grammar.

The puberty ceremonies with their complicated ritual still persist today, and moiety exogamy continues to be rigorously maintained. Similarly, the religion of the Tukuna in its fundamental concepts has been kept free of Christian influence. This is why the Tukuna have survived to this day as a numerous tribe, with their own ethnic characteristics, whereas all the other tribes that were formerly their neighbors have disappeared.

Visits

In spite of their rebellious individualism, their occasional choleric outbreaks, and their constant fear of witchcraft, the Tukuna are far from being unsociable folk. Reciprocal visits are extremely frequent, and invitations to festive reunions are at times so numerous that the recipient with the best will in the world cannot attend them all. An Indian may suddenly feel the desire to visit an acquaintance, friend, or relative, frequently one who dwells a few days' canoe journey away. He loads his mosquito net, some tururí cloth, and clothing into a burden basket, placing it in the canoe, together with a hamper of farinha, a cooking pot, some gourds, and his fishing gear, and covering it all with a mat of banana leaves. (Pl. 4.) Finally, the family also embarks—the dog, the parrot, and the tiny monkey, too—and they voyage forth through the igarapés, sinks, and lakes. When nearing the house of the person to whom the visit is being paid, the traveler

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291 Men formerly wore a belt with one apron of turury inner bark in front and another behind. The penis was stuck under the belt. Women [174] perhaps at first went about entirely nude, but later adopted a short cloth of turury or of woven cotton, wrapped around the hips. Men wore 301 bracelets with long feathers and necklaces of teeth (pl. 65, *bottom*). At 292 feasts chiefs wore a cap of feathers mounted on a cotton or *Bromelia* net, or large diadems.

MANUFACTURES

532 **Bark cloth.**—Various masks and zoomorphic figures are made of bark 287 cloth (pl. 64).

285 **Basketry.**—Clothes baskets are made of uarumã stalks with a round opening closed with a lid. Four points are drawn up and down over the lid and the bottom, the latter serving as legs. Other baskets have a flat square lid and bottom. Both types of baskets are made in all sizes, from 2 to 16 inches (4 to 40 cm.) in diameter. Burdens are carried [482] in large conical baskets hexagonally woven of liana, or in cylindrical baskets of uarumã stalks. These are supported by an embira-fiber tump-line. The *Tucuna* also use pouches of looped tucum threads.

323 **Pottery.**—Women and sometimes men still make bowls, dishes, pans, [531] and pots of clay, which are decorated with painted or modeled ornaments. [776] Potter's clay is gathered according to certain rules so as not to anger its owner, a water demon who appears in the shape of the western rainbow.

415 **Gourds.**—Gourds are covered with a black lacquer, and may bear de- 531 signs in indelible red pigment. Wooden spoons are carved, sometimes in fantastic shapes.

411 **Weapons.**—The bow is 6½ feet (2 m.) long with the ends notched to hold the string. It is now rare, even as a fishing weapon. The hunting arrow has a poisoned wooden head and feathering of the arched type. Arrows are 5 feet 4 inches (1⅗ m.) long. Spears have three types of points: (1) a poisoned, wooden point with four corners; (2) an iron point; and (3) a plain pointed stick. The last two are still used to hunt jaguars and peccaries. The *Tucuna* blowgun is over 10 feet (3 m.) long, and the darts 1 foot (30 cm.) long. The poison [278] is the most effective of any made in the Amazon Basin, but its manu- [178] facture, which requires much time and care, is now being forgotten. [231] Hunting dogs, which are of little use, are, according to tradition, pre- [173] Columbian.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

181 The *Tucuna* are industrious and hard working, kind to their friends, honest, patient, and hospitable. But they are more liable than other Indians [762] to great outbursts of sudden anger, a trait which sometimes leads them to suicide. This is a manifestation of their individualism and desire to live

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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apart, which is correlated with their lack of social organization other than blood ties. When drunk they quarrel and often cause injuries and death. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians, both parties exhibit their worst qualities. Nevertheless, the *Tucuna* are not unsociable and frequently visit one another and hold festive meetings, when they work collectively for their host. They retain tenaciously their original spiritual culture, although hard work has brought important material improvements. They now have good firearms, tools, clothes, and sewing machines, and they live in financial independence. Some, however, enticed to industrial establishments (rum factories) of the civilized people, become proletarian and then degenerate.

Moieties and clans.—The *Tucuna* are divided into two exogamous, unnamed patrilineal moieties, associated respectively with the east and west. One has 15 unlocalized, patrilineal sibs with tree names; the other has 21 sibs with bird names. Neither the clans nor moieties have outward distinguishing features, except for the private use of certain musical instruments on ceremonial occasions. There is no clear relationship between clan members and their eponym, except that a person's name refers obscurely to certain qualities of the animal or plant, thus revealing his clan. A person is named by his maternal relatives the day after his birth.

The *Tucuna* maintain moiety exogamy with strict inflexibility, and in 1941 still punished violations with death. They regard incest as a sin against the goddess Taé, who punishes it by making one insane during his life and by annihilating his soul after his death.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and childhood.—After coitus, conception depends on Taé, who gives a soul to children. Abortion and infanticide are practiced, especially when the father is a Neo-Brazilian, as the child would be disqualified for sib and moiety membership. Otherwise, it is believed that infanticide is a sin and that Taé punishes the soul of the perpetrator after death.

Childbirth takes place in a temporary shelter prepared in the bush near the house. The newborn child is immediately painted with genipa. Both parents are confined and diet until the umbilical cord drops off. Children are carried in a woven cotton sling passing over a shoulder. Slings are double in part, so that a child sits in one portion while the other supports its back.

When a child begins to crawl, there is a feast in which it is painted with urucú and covered with bits of parrot feathers while the paint is still sticky. At another feast, formerly celebrated when the child was 2 but now when it is 4, its hair is pulled out and its ears pierced. Contrary to certain authors, this operation does not endanger a child's life. About 8 months later there is a supplementary feast when the hair, having grown again, is trimmed, and the relics of the previous feast are burned.

5: Bates N-5 (1848-1859) 1892
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which the village is built extends on one side nearly a mile into the forest, but on the other side the descent into the lowland begins close to the streets; the hill sloping abruptly towards a boggy meadow surrounded by woods, through which a narrow winding path continues the slope down to a cool shady glen, with a brook of icy-cold water flowing at the bottom. At mid-day the vertical sun penetrates into the gloomy depths of this romantic spot, lighting up the leafy banks of the rivulet and its clean sandy margins, where numbers of scarlet, green, and black tanagers and brightly-coloured butterflies sport about in the stray beams. Sparkling brooks, large and small, traverse the glorious forest in almost every direction, and one is constantly meeting, whilst rambling through the thickets, with trickling rills and bubbling springs, so well provided is the country with moisture. Some of the rivulets flow over a sandy and pebbly bed, and the banks of all are clothed with the most magnificent vegetation conceivable. I had the almost daily habit, in my solitary walks, of resting on the clean banks of these swift-flowing streams, and bathing for an hour at a time in their bracing waters; hours which now remain amongst my most pleasant memories. The broad forest roads
361 continue, as I was told, a distance of several days' journey into the interior, which is peopled by Tucúnas and other Indians, living in scattered houses and villages nearly in their primitive state, the nearest village lying about six miles from St. Paulo. The banks of all
[342] the streams are dotted with palm-thatched dwellings of Tucúnas, all half buried in the leafy wilderness, the scattered families having chosen the coolest and shadiest nooks for their abodes.

I frequently heard in the neighbourhood of these huts the "realejo"
136 or organ bird (Cyphorhinus cantans), the most remarkable songster, by far, of the Amazonian forests. When its singular notes strike the ear for the first time the impression cannot be resisted that they are produced by a human voice. Some musical boy must be gathering fruit in the thickets, and is singing a few notes to cheer himself. The tones become more fluty and plaintive; they are now those of a flageolet, and notwithstanding the utter impossibility of the thing, one is for the moment convinced that somebody is playing that instrument. No bird is to be seen, however closely the surrounding trees and bushes may be scanned, and yet the voice seems to come from the thicket close to one's ears. The ending of the song is rather disappointing. It begins with a few very slow and mellow notes, following each other like the commencement of an air; one listens expecting to hear a complete strain, but an abrupt pause occurs, and then the song breaks down, finishing with a number of clicking unmusical sounds like a piping barrel organ out of wind and tune. I never heard the bird on the Lower Amazons, and very rarely heard it even at Ega; it is the only songster which makes an impression on the natives, who sometimes rest their paddles whilst travelling in their small canoes along the shady by-streams, as if struck by the mysterious sounds.

171 The Tucúna Indians are a tribe resembling much the Shumánas,
Passés, Jurís, and Mauhés in their physical appearance and customs.
181 They lead, like those tribes, a settled agricultural life, each horde obeying

5: Bates N-5 (1848-1859) 1892
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a chief of more or less influence, according to his energy and ambition, and possessing its pajé or medicine man, who fosters its superstitions; but they are much more idle and debauched than other Indians belonging to the superior tribes. They are not so warlike and loyal as the Mundurucús, although resembling them in many respects, nor have they the slender figures, dignified mien, and gentle disposition of the Passés; there are, however, no trenchant points of difference to distinguish them from these highest of all the tribes. Both men and women are tattooed, the pattern being sometimes a scroll on each cheek, but generally rows of short straight lines on the face. Most of the older people wear bracelets, anklets, and garters of tapir-hide or tough bark; in their homes they wear no other dress except on festival days, when they ornament themselves with feathers or masked cloaks made of the inner bark of a tree. They were very shy when I made my first visits to their habitations in the forest, all scampering off to the thicket when I approached, but on subsequent days they became more familiar, and I found them a harmless, good-natured people.

A great part of the horde living at the first Maloca or village dwell in a common habitation, a large oblong hut built and arranged inside with such a disregard of all symmetry, that it appeared as though constructed by a number of hands, each working independently, stretching a rafter or fitting in a piece of thatch, without reference to what his fellow-labourers were doing. The walls as well as the roof are covered with thatch of palm-leaves; each piece consisting of leaflets plaited and attached in a row to a lath many feet in length. Strong upright posts support the roof, hammocks being slung between them, leaving a free space for passage and for fires in the middle, and on one side is an elevated stage (*girao*) overhead, formed of split palm-stems. The Tucúnas excel most of the other tribes in the manufacture of pottery. They make broad-mouthed jars, for Tucupí sauce, caysúma or mandioca beer, capable of holding twenty or more gallons, ornamenting them outside with crossed diagonal streaks of various colours. These jars, with cooking-pots, smaller jars for holding water, blow-pipes, quivers, matirí bags * full of small articles, baskets, skins of animals, and so forth, form the principal part of the furniture of their huts, both large and small. The dead bodies of their chiefs are interred, the knees doubled up, in large jars under the floors of their huts.

The semi-religious dances and drinking bouts usual amongst the settled tribes of Amazonian Indians are indulged in to greater excess by the Tucúnas than they are by most other tribes. The Juruparí or Demon is the only superior being they have any conception of, and his name is mixed up with all their ceremonies, but it is difficult to ascertain what they consider to be his attributes. He seems to be believed in simply as a mischievous imp, who is at the bottom of all those mishaps

* These bags are formed of remarkably neat twine made of Bromelia fibres elaborately knitted, all in one piece, with sticks; a belt of the same material, but more closely woven, being attached to the top to suspend them by. They afford good examples of the mechanical ability of these Indians. The Tucúnas also possess the art of skinning and stuffing birds, the handsome kinds of which they sell in great numbers to passing travellers.